LONDON CHAPTER
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1600 Attawandaron Road, London, ON N6G 3M6

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October & November 2003 03-6 & 03-7

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The next speaker's night is Thursday, November 13th. Dr. Thomas Abler of the Department of Anthropology, University of Waterloo will be speaking on: ***Material Symbols of the League of the Iroquois.*** He plans to talk about the origin and structure of the League, and show some slides of wampum strings and belts and the condolence cane and possibly other aspects of Iroquois material culture in museum collections.

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As always, our meeting will be held at 8 pm at the London Museum of Archaeology, 1600 Attawandaron Road, near the corner of Wonderland & Fanshawe Park Road, in the northwest part of the city.

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ANNUAL RATES

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ITEMS AND MEANS OF PERSONAL ADORNMENT AMONG THE NEUTRAL: EVIDENCE FROM THE LAWSON SITE

Robert J. Pearce
London Museum of Archaeology

INTRODUCTION

Excavations at the Lawson site, a prehistoric Neutral village located in northwest London, have uncovered a very diverse assemblage of items that are believed to have been used for personal adornment. This article describes those objects and more broadly the means by which Neutral individuals adorned themselves as evident in other artifacts such as effigy pipes and as suggested by early European observers.

THE LAWSON SITE: BACKGROUND

The Lawson site (AgHh-1) is a 2.0 hectare (five acre) prehistoric Neutral village located on Lot 20, Concession 4, formerly London Township, now City of London, Middlesex County. The village is situated on a prominent, wedge-shaped plateau that is bordered on three sides by steep slopes down to Medway Creek, Snake Creek and the confluence of those two watercourses.

The site has been known since at least the 1860s and was visited throughout the late nineteenth century by bird-watchers and naturalists who later formed the London Chapter of the Entomological Society of Canada (now McIlwraith Field Naturalists) (Judd 1979). On various outings to the site some of the men in this society acquired large collections of artifacts by casually "digging" in the rich midden mounds scattered across the heavily wooded plateau (Pearce 1993).

In 1894 the site, then known as the Shaw-Wood village (named after the owner at that time, Richard Shaw-Wood) was visited by Ontario's first professional archaeologist David Boyle of the Canadian Institute (which later evolved into the Provincial Museum and ultimately became the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto). Boyle was taken to the site by Dr. Solon Woolverton and other members of the Entomological Society. In 1917 Boyle's successor at the Provincial Museum, Rowland B. Orr, also visited the site. Details about these visits by Boyle and Orr are sketchy, but it appears that both men just looked around and made notes; there is no evidence that either man actually excavated on the site or removed a significant number of artifacts from it. Both men drew sketch maps of the site and provided brief descriptions of it (Boyle 1896a:35-37; Orr 1917:44-52).

The first detailed professional excavation at Lawson took place in the summers of 1921, 1922 and 1923 by William J. Wintemberg of the Victoria Museum in Ottawa (which later became part of the National Museums of Canada, today Canadian Museum of Civilization). Wintemberg had been an apprentice under Boyle at the Provincial Museum and learned of the Lawson site from Boyle. Wintemberg's site report, published in 1939, remains an important scholarly contribution to knowledge for its detailed description of the material culture of a large prehistoric Neutral village. In the report, Wintemberg (1939) made several references to specific artifacts from the site which he had observed in private collections, including those of George Cary and John Sonley. Mr. Sonley was the farm manager of the property at the time when it was owned by Richard Shaw-Wood (prior to being purchased by the Lawson family in 1920), and Mr. Sonley had amassed a large collection himself through surface collection on the ploughed northern portion of the site and casual digging in the undisturbed southern portion of the site.

A young Wilfrid Jury and his father Amos met Wintemberg on the Lawson site in 1921, as did Ray and Tom Lawson. The Lawson family, with the encouragement of Wilfrid and Amos Jury, eventually donated most of the property containing the site to the University of Western Ontario, to ensure its long-term preservation. The University entrusted ownership of the site to the Museum of Indian Archaeology, which Wilfrid and Amos Jury had founded at the University in 1933 (Pearce 2003). In 1981 the Museum was relocated to the newly constructed Lawson-Jury Building adjacent to the Lawson site, and later the Museum's name was changed to the London Museum of Archaeology.

The Museum's collection of archaeological material was initially comprised of artifacts collected by Amos and Wilfrid Jury, including assemblages from a large number of sites which they investigated; this included a limited number of pieces from the Lawson site. The Museum's collections were then significantly augmented by larger scale excavations undertaken by Wilfrid, and by accessions that were donated to Jury and/or the Museum (Pearce 2003). Included in the latter were large collections amassed by two of Amos's and Wilfrid's contemporaries, John Bycraft and Cameron Wilson (Pearce 1993). The Wilson Collection, in particular, contained pieces which he had obtained himself from the Lawson site, and pieces from the Lawson site and other known sites which he had obtained from other collectors.

The London Museum of Archaeology has conducted variable-scale excavations at the Lawson site annually since 1976. These investigations have included large-scale projects in 1977-1980 to expose the entire northern one-fifth of the site (which had been disturbed by ploughing; Pearce 1980) and smaller-scale excavations for research, the annual demonstration of archaeological techniques to site visitors, various educational programmes and archaeological field schools (i.e. Finlayson et al 1977; Pearce 1978; 1980; 1993; 1996).

To date, approximately 25% of the site has been excavated, exposing all or portions of 19 longhouses and over 30 middens. We estimate that the site was occupied circa 1500 A.D. and that it could potentially have consisted of as many as 40 longhouses housing a population in excess of 2,000. The site is certainly one of the most "productive" Iroquoian villages, in that the Museum's excavations since 1976 have yielded well over 300,000 artifacts including exceeding large numbers of ceramic vessels and projectile points. This article will focus on a subset of that large artifact assemblage, comprised of various objects used (or assumed to have been used) for personal adornment.

ETHNOGRAPHIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR PERSONAL ADORNMENT

One cannot underestimate the importance of items of personal adornment used by the Iroquoian-speaking peoples of northeastern North America. Prior to the time of European contact the Iroquoians were utilizing a wide variety of materials including shell and stone to make beads, pendants and other ornaments, and this was greatly enhanced by the introduction of European-made objects in the historic era. The Jesuit Relations recorded that the Jesuits made deliberate gifts of "little glass beads" and "colored beads" to the Huron (JR VIII:145; XV:159), because the Huron adored and valued those items so much. In various places throughout the Relations, the Jesuits referred to the many Huron uses of shell beads in particular as "porcelain beads, which are the gold, the pearls, and the diamonds of this country" (JR XXIII:221).

In one early Jesuit description of the Native groups of New France in general, it was written that the women:

> are usually more ornamented with matachias, that is, with chains, gewgaws and such finery after their fashion; by which you may know that such is the nature of the sex everywhere, fond of

> adornment (JR III:73).

[Note: Elsewhere in the Jesuit Relations, editor Reuben Thwaites explained that matachias were "necklaces, scarfs and bracelets" (JR II:135). A gewgaw is defined in a standard dictionary as "a showy trifle; a gaudy, useless ornament; bauble".]

It is a well-documented fact that beads had great significance to Native peoples for many purposes other than as a material from which to make necklaces. Although the following quote pertained specifically to the uses of glass trade beads by the historic Seneca Iroquois, one can imagine that it could apply to any Iroquoian group of any time period:

> Beads were inlaid in pottery pipes as effigy eyes or as ornamentation around the bowl... Beads have also served as rattle 'stones' in turtle shell...rattles. Beads were sewn in designs on clothing, on purses and pouches and on moccasins. They were worn as earrings, hair ornaments and bracelets...Beads were even used in belts...Beads of all types had value and could be used in settling debts, in the payment of fines, or as barter for other items... (Wray 1983:47).

There is also widespread belief among archaeologists and ethnohistorians that beads (and pendants) had a symbolic function in many Native societies. George Hamell (1983), for example, wrote of the 'magic of beads' and expressed the thought that shell, crystal and native copper, and artifacts such as beads made from those materials, were metaphors for a host of symbolic meanings among the Northeastern Woodland Siouan, Algonquian and Iroquoian cultures. A similar inference had been made many years ago by William J. Wintemberg when, in discussing the use of shell, he stated that "primitive man everywhere regarded the sea as a magnificent display of the power of their chief deity, and so it was also quite natural for them to regard the shells rolled up from its depths as bearing a part of the mysterious power of this deity" (Wintemberg 1908:62). He also asserted that one of the reasons shells were used so widely by Native peoples for ornaments and charms was because shells were "invested with mystic and protective powers" (ibid.:63). In reference to the New York State Iroquois, Engelbrecht (2003:49) asserted that "all objects, whether natural or human-made, were felt to possess spiritual power". William Fox (2002) has argued that particular pendants made of black shale, found on certain late prehistoric Iroquoian sites in southern Ontario, had specific symbolic and ritual connotations. In this connection, it can be noted that the Jesuits observed that the Huron considered certain objects, such as "a stone of peculiar shape", to have "supernatural virtue" and thus kept such items as "charms or amulets" (JR XXXIII:211). The Huron and other Native groups also held copper in great regard, believing it was a gift from the gods and one of their most "precious possessions" (JR L:265-267).

There are only two direct references in the Jesuit Relations to personal adornment among the historic Neutral; both of these references will be cited later in this article. There are, however, several references to personal adornment among the Huron, and it is quite probable that the Neutral followed similar practices and customs. Perhaps one of the most elaborate descriptions of personal adornment among the Huron came from the quill of Father Gabriel Sagard, who wrote:

> Their wampum is strung in different ways, some of it to make necklaces three or four fingers in breadth, made like a horse's girth with all its threads covered up and inserted in the pieces of shell. The circumference of these necklaces is about three and a half feet or more, and the women put many of them on their necks, according to their means and wealth. Then they have others, strung like our rosaries, fastened to their ears and hanging down, and chains of the same wampum of which the individual pieces are as big as walnuts, which they fasten to both hips, and these are arranged in front in a slant over their thighs or the girdles they wear. And I have seen other women who also wore bracelets on their arms and great plates in front of their stomach, with others behind circular in shape and like a teasel for carding wool hanging from their hair-plaits.

> Some of them have also belts and other finery made of porcupine quills dyed crimson red and very neatly interwoven. Then there is no lack of feathers and paints, which are at everyone's service.
>
> The young men are as much concerned to dress themselves up and put on paint as the girls. They oil their hair, stick feathers in it, while some make themselves little ruffs of down to put round their neck. Some have frontlets of snake-skin the tails of which hang behind, as long as two French ells. They paint their body and face in various colors, black, green, red, violet and in many other ways. Others have their body and face marked in divisions, with representations of snakes, lizards, squirrels and other animals... I also saw savages of another tribe, all with the middle part of the nostrils pierced, from which hung quite a large blue bead over the upper lip.
>
> ... (their) wampum consists of the ribs of those large sea-shells called *vignols*, like periwinkles, which they cut into a thousand pieces, then polish them on sandstone, pierce a hole in them, and make necklaces and bracelets of them, with great trouble and labour on account of the hardness of these ribs, which are quite a different substance from our ivory... (Wrong 1939:144-146).

Archaeologically, there are really only two direct ways in which personal adornment can be documented. The first comes from those rare instances when human figures are depicted in objects of art discovered on archaeological sites, such as a human effigy pipe which might feature facial tattoos or a particular hairstyle or hat. The second concerns items of personal adornment found in direct association with human burials, such as an individual interred with a strand of shell beads around his or her neck.

It is well known that historic Iroquoian burials, including some of those of the historic Neutral, were frequently accompanied by sometimes elaborate "grave goods" including necklaces and bracelets. The Grimsby Cemetery, for example, contained numerous graves where specific articles of personal adornment were placed with or included on an interred individual; these articles included necklaces, bracelets, beaded garters, gorgets, finger rings, bangles, ear plugs, combs and decorated beaver-skin robes (Kenyon 1982:24, 30, 35, 62, 94). Individual graves at several other historic Neutral sites have also furnished data about specific articles of personal adornment. However, archaeologists never will be able to determine if such articles of personal adornment were in fact everyday items typically worn while the individual was alive, or whether those items were placed on (or with) the individual as part of a burial ceremony. Also, there are at present no known specific prehistoric Neutral burials that were accompanied by items of personal adornment, so it is not known if the prehistoric Neutral followed the same or similar practices as their later descendants did in the historic era.

ITEMS OF PERSONAL ADORNMENT FROM THE LAWSON SITE

In his 1939 report on the Lawson site, W. J. Wintemberg provided brief descriptions of several objects that were utilized for personal adornment, which he had recovered during his 1921-1923 excavations or observed in private collections. The London Museum of Archaeology's excavations at Lawson since 1976 have uncovered significant additions to this assemblage, providing new insights into the nature, range and variation in items of personal adornment. Overall, the assemblage of personal adornment items from the Lawson site is remarkable for its diversity, and for the uniqueness of some of the pieces.

In the following discussion, it is important to note that a bead is generally considered to be a perforated item which formed one of a multitude of similar objects strung together and worn, for example, as a necklace. In contrast, a pendant is a perforated or notched object which might have been hung singly as a separate item on a necklace. A standard dictionary defines a bead as "a small ball or bit of glass, metal, etc. with a hole through it, so that it can be strung on a thread with others like it", whereas a pendant (pendent) is defined as "a hanging ornament, such as a locket". However, there are known occasions when both beads and pendants were strung together on the same necklace. There is, for example, a necklace in the London Museum of Archaeology's collections that is comprised of multiple shell beads and a single marine shell pendant. It can also be noted that a pendant need not necessarily be perforated, since some objects can be notched at one end to facilitate suspension from a cord. Some items described herein as beads may have been hung like pendants, and some pendants may have in fact been strung like beads. Some perforated objects may have been worn in ways other than as beads and pendants, as for example an item worn as an ear bob or as a bangle attached to a garment. Also, Wintemberg (1939:35-36) stated that some perforated objects, as well as some non-perforated objects such as fossils, may have been utilized by the site inhabitants as "amulets" or "fetishes" and thus not all of the items to be discussed herein were necessarily worn for personal adornment. Wintemberg (ibid.:36-37) also discussed a single bone tube from the Lawson site, which closely resembles the 'sucking tubes' used in later periods; however one cannot rule out the possibility that some bone tubes might be very large tubular beads.

Beads

Wintemberg (1939:33) wrote that only shell and bone beads were discovered during his 1921-1923 excavations, and he specifically stated (ibid.) that "there were no stone or earthenware beads". However, beads made from a wide variety of materials have now been found at Lawson, including ones made from bone, shell, stone, fossils, earthenware and copper (see Figure 1).

Wintemberg (1939:34) wrote that during his 1921-1923 excavations only two tubular bone beads were found, but that he knew of 51 in Mr. Sonley's collection and two in George Cary's collection. Wintemberg specified that of these, one was made from a mammal bone, while the one he illustrated (1939:87) is identified as being made from a bird ulna; that illustration showed a circular ring incised around the circumference near the top of the specimen, demonstrating the "score and snap" method of manufacture.

Excavations of the Lawson site by the London Museum of Archaeology since 1976 have recovered several additional examples of tubular bird and mammal long bone beads. The lengths of 13 complete specimens range from 8.5 mm to 37.1 mm (mean = 23.7 mm). All are made by the "score and snap" method; none are decorated. One of the tubular bone beads (#5514) is unusual as it is made from the midsection of the shaft of a deer phalange (both proximal and distal ends removed). This specimen is 8.5 mm long, 9.1 mm wide and 7.1 mm thick, with a hole diameter of 3.4 mm. There are also 10 tubular bone bead fragments. Furthermore, the Cameron Wilson Collection at the Museum includes a further eight tubular bone beads with provenience listed as Lawson site.

In the Museum's collection from Lawson there are also a few examples of "bead wastage", these being the scored shaft of a bird or mammal long bone which was discarded after the portion to be used for a bead was snapped off. Also, in the Cameron Wilson Collection there is the proximal (upper) half of a mammal (*Canid* sp.) tibia. The distal (lower) end of this fragment clearly shows a deep score around the circumference where a segment on the distal end of the shaft had been removed (presumably for a bead). Further up the same shaft there is a portion of a deep score which extends only one-third of the way around the circumference; if that score had been completed all of the way through the shaft, it would have created a tube 42 mm long and 11 mm in diameter. Would that tube have been used for a bead, or for some other purpose?

Perforated fish vertebrae beads are not common, but they do occur (Figure 1b). Wintemberg (1939:34) mentioned only one and illustrated it, and the Museum's excavations have since uncovered five others. Four of the ones discovered recently are complete and, relatively speaking, are quite large and were probably derived from large fish; these four have outer diameters of 16.6 mm, 17.3 mm, 19.8 mm and

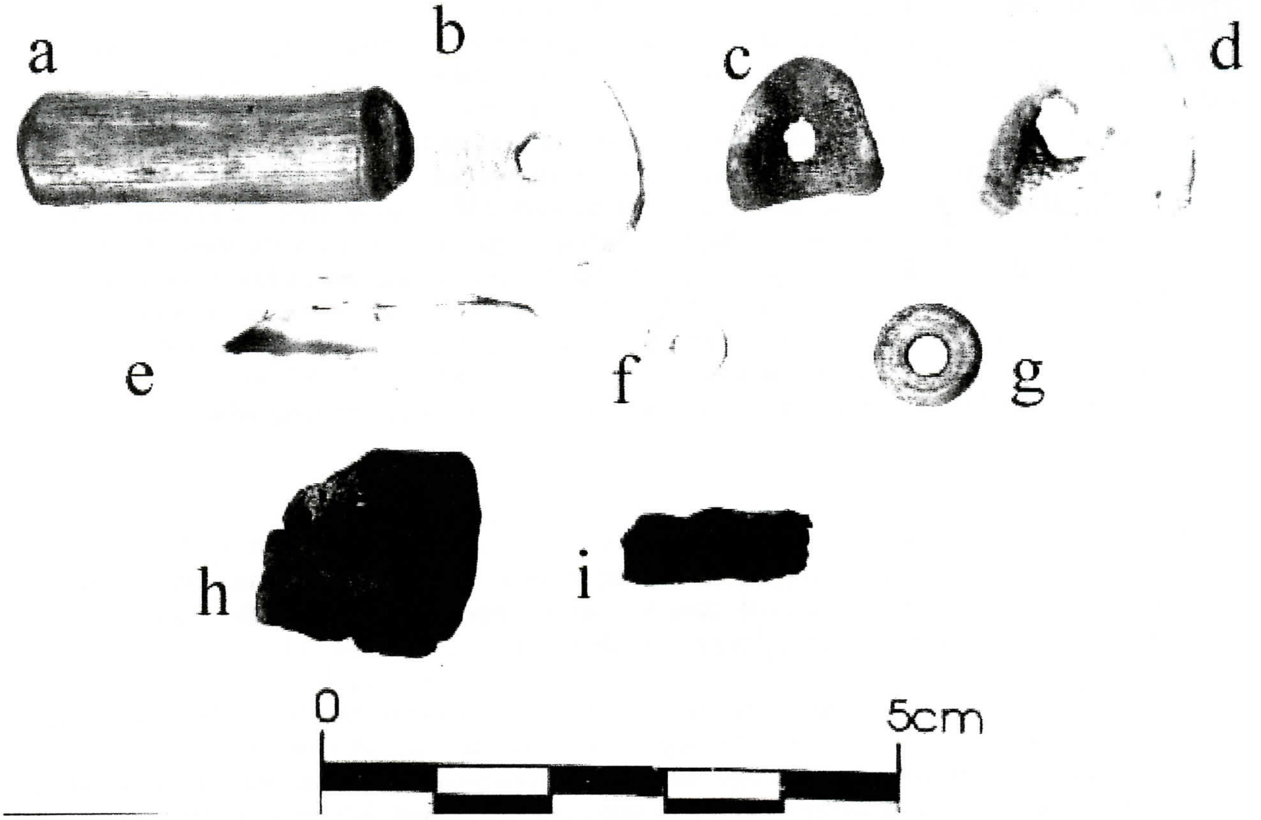

Figure 1: Beads from the Lawson Site. a: tubular bird bone; b: fish vertebra; c: distal end of deer phalange; d: distal end of elk phalange; e: tubular marine shell; f: discoidal marine shell; g: discoidal stone (fossil); h: recycled clay pipe stem; i: tubular copper.

20.0 mm. The fifth one recently uncovered by the Museum is fragmentary (complete in diameter but cut in half latitudinally); it is 11.1 mm in diameter.

In terms of numbers, beads made from the distal ends of mammalian (mainly deer) phalanges clearly outnumber all other jewellery artifacts at the Lawson site. Wintemberg stated (1939:34) there were 39 (38 of which he excavated, plus one in the Cary collection) and provided a description of these, as follows:

> These beads are derived from the distal joint of proximal and middle phalanges of the deer, most of them from the proximal phalanges, and from the proximal phalange of a bear. All have the distal articular facet pierced for stringing.

Elsewhere in his Lawson site report, Wintemberg briefly mentioned the wide varieties of artifacts made from various animal bones. In the section dealing with deer, he stated "the distal ends of many proximal phalanges were made into beads, some of which are unfinished. Two proximal phalanges have the distal joint cut off" (ibid.:12). In the section dealing with wapiti (elk), he stated "six proximal phalanges, one of which was used as a pipe, have holes through the distal articular facets and the proximal ends removed" (ibid.). He noted that "very few artifacts came from bear bones" but that "the distal end of a proximal phalanx was shaped into a bead; and three other proximal phalanges were being shaped into beads because they have the distal articular facet hollowed, and one also has a cut across the front near the distal end" (ibid.).

Wintemberg obviously recognized that the beads made from mammalian phalanges were rare since he included six examples of them in a permanent donation he arranged of Lawson site material, loaned by the National Museum of Canada to Wilfrid Jury and the Museum of Indian Archaeology in the late 1930s.

The London Museum of Archaeology's excavations of the Lawson site since 1976 have resulted in the recovery of a further 132 mammalian phalange distal end beads. As of the end of 2002, the inventory of such beads is thus 138 (including the six donated by Wintemberg). These 138 beads exclude ones made from elk phalanges, which obviously are much larger than ones made from deer or bear phalanges. These 138 beads range in length from 7.0 mm to 23.6 mm, with a mean of 11.6 mm.

In a sample of three unaltered mature deer proximal phalanges in the London Museum of Archaeology's collection, the distal epiphyses measure 8 mm to 10 mm long. This means that if the distal ends only (i.e. the distal epiphyses) were removed to be made into beads, the minimum lengths of the resulting beads would be no less than 8 mm. In other words, it is not possible to make a bead of less than 8 mm in length from a mature deer proximal phalange. The overall lengths of those same three unaltered phalanges are in excess of 50 mm. Since the longest distal end bead made from deer or bear phalanges at the Lawson site was 23.6 mm, and since the distal epiphysis accounts for 10 mm of that 23.6 mm length, there is only a relatively short 13.6 mm length of the phalange shaft attached to the bead. This is indeed the case for almost all of the Lawson site distal end beads - they consist of the severed distal epiphysis only, or of the distal epiphysis plus a very short segment of the adjoined shaft. In fact, 128 of the 138 beads are 16 mm or less in length. On these specimens then, approximately 15 to 30% of the original phalange is being removed to be made into a bead, while the other 70 to 85% of the phalange is apparently being discarded.

An unaltered mature deer proximal phalange is normally 12 mm to 14 mm wide at the distal end (i.e. maximum width, measured between the lateral and medial surfaces). The 138 distal end beads from the Lawson site range from 8.9 mm to 14.8 mm in width with a mean of 12.5 mm. The maximum thickness of the 138 beads (distance between dorsal and ventral surfaces) range from 7.8 mm to 17.8 mm with a mean of 12.7 mm.

The width and thickness of a bead is naturally dictated by the source material (i.e. the original size of the distal end of the phalange), so the only variable is the length. The length/width ratio (length divided by width) of the 138 Lawson beads ranges from exactly 0.5 (i.e. bead length equals one-half the width) to exactly 2.0 (i.e. bead length equals twice the width). However, 92 of the beads are shorter than they are wide (length/width ratio less than 1.0), 15 beads have length equal to width, and only 31 beads have length greater than width. Therefore it would appear that the site inhabitants were deliberately trying to make the beads as short as possible.

On most of these mammalian phalange distal end beads, the perforation through the distal end has been made by drilling from the distal end. There are, however, a few specimens where the perforation appears to have been made by gouging out the distal end until the central hollow marrow cavity was reached. Consequently on those latter pieces, the perforation is more of an ovate or oblong groove rather than a drilled hole. On the 138 beads, the hole diameter ranges from 0.9 mm to 4.2 mm with a mean of 2.5 mm.

The single elk phalange distal end bead in the London Museum of Archaeology's collection from Lawson (Figure 1c) is 16.4 mm long, 22.2 mm wide, 18.7 mm thick and has an ovate hole 5.4 mm long by 3.2 mm wide in the distal end. As noted above, however, Wintemberg (1939:12) spoke of at least five elk phalange beads from Lawson.

Almost all of the distal end beads have a high degree of polishing on both ends and along the edges of the perforations; a few are extremely polished on their entire surfaces. This degree of polishing leaves no doubt that these items were in fact used as beads.

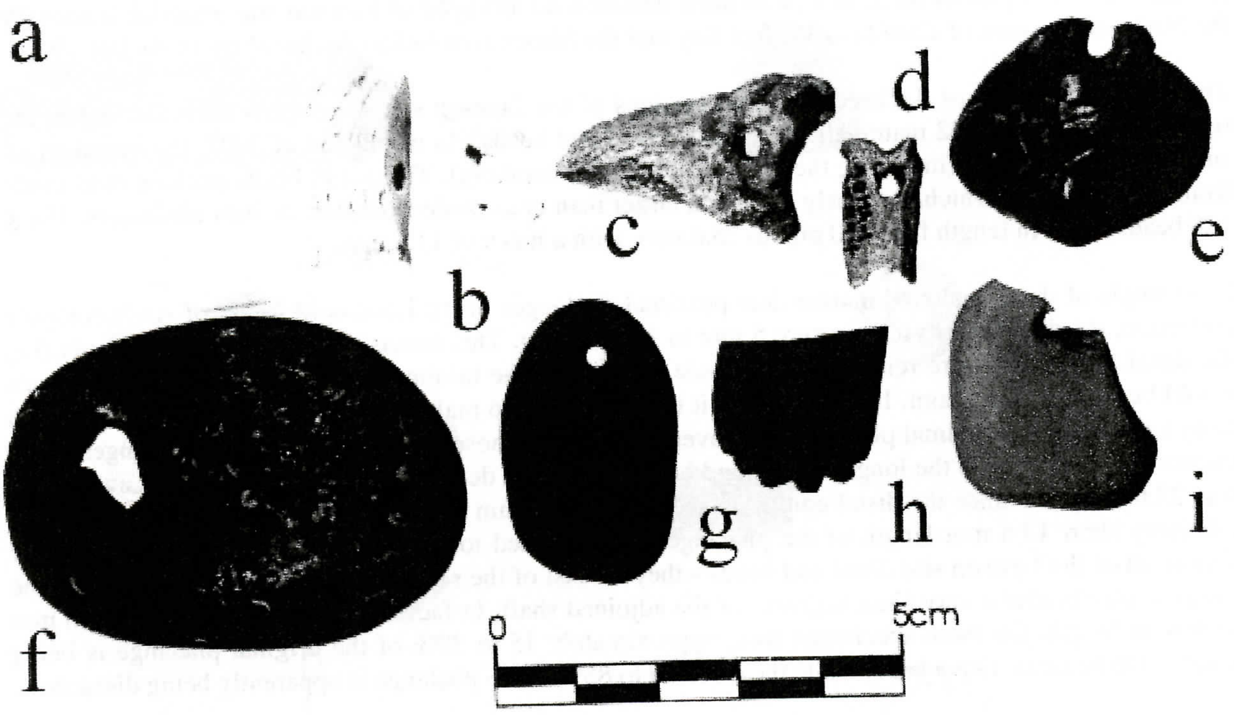

Figure 2: Pendants. a: marine shell; b: marine or clam shell; c: distal deer phalange; d: medial deer phalange; e: trilobite fossil; f: fossiliferous pebble; g: black shale; h: black shale notched fragment; i: red slate.

There are a few examples of mammalian phalange (mainly deer) "bead wastage" from Lawson, consisting of distal end fragments (epiphyses) which were removed but discarded before they were perforated to make into beads, and distal end fragments where a hole has only been started in the distal end, but not completed through to the marrow cavity. There are a few "scored" proximal end fragments from which the distal ends had been snapped off, but given that there are so many distal end beads, it is surprising that more of the "scored" proximal end wastage fragments have not been recovered.

Wintemberg (1939:86) reported a single example of a tubular (cylindrical) bead "made from part of columella of marine shell", and a single small, discoidal bead "made from part of columella of marine shell". Further examples of both types have been recovered by the Museum since 1976 (e.g. Figure 1d, 1e). There are three tubular shell beads (#988055, 17.9 mm long; #200093, columella fragment 32.3 mm long; and #203134, 12.7 mm long) and one discoidal shell bead (#981070, 7.1 mm in diameter).

A single fossil crinoid stem segment has been centrally drilled to create a discoidal bead (#850688; Figure 1g). The bead is only 6.4 mm in diameter and 0.8 mm thick. The centre hole, which is worn smooth and is polished from use, is 1.1 mm in diameter. The outer circumference of the bead has been ground all around to create a slightly bevelled edge, which is likewise worn smooth and is polished from use.

A second discoidal stone bead (#28956) has been made from a small, donut-shaped pebble. The pebble is fossiliferous limestone with a portion of the external mold of a brachiopod clearly displayed on one edge. The bead is only 5.5 mm in diameter and 2.2 mm thick, with a central hole 1.1 mm in minimum diameter and 1.4 mm in maximum diameter drilled from both sides. The inner surfaces of the hole and the rounded, bevelled circumference edge are worn smooth and are polished from use.

A third fossil (unidentified) has been made into a tubular bead (#203068). It is 6.1 mm long and 7.6 mm in diameter, with the hole varying from 3.4 mm at one end to 5.1 mm at the other end.

Another tubular bead (#20025078) was manufactured by drilling longitudinally through a short, cylindrical-shaped pebble. This object is 10.0 mm long and 6.6 mm in diameter, with a hole that is 2.2 mm at one end and 3.1 mm at the other.

Two objects are interpreted as blanks for tubular stone beads. Both are cut and polished segments of stone cylinders, but they have not been drilled. One (#16072) is 19.4 mm long and 11.3 mm in diameter. The other (#205113), which is a fragment of a larger fossil, is 9.2 mm long and 13.2 mm in diameter. The latter may have been intended to be a discoidal, rather than a tubular, bead.

There are five further examples of small discoidal stone beads. These range in outer diameter from a mere 3.2 mm (with a 1.1 mm diameter hole) to 13.2 mm (with a 4.2 mm diameter hole).

A single example of an earthenware (clay) bead exists from the Lawson site (Figure 1h). It (#20015050) is 18.1 mm long with a maximum outer diameter of 18.3 mm at one end tapering to 14.1 mm at the other end, with a 4.0 mm diameter hole. This bead has been made by grinding down a broken clay pipe stem.

There is also a single bead made from native copper (Figure 1i). It (#15493) is 16.2 mm long, 6.9 mm in maximum outer diameter with a hole 2.2 mm in diameter. It was made by rolling up a thin sheet of copper. Excavations at Lawson have also uncovered two other tiny copper fragments, which may have been broken off of thin sheets intended to have been rolled into beads.

Pendants

Wintemberg (1939) listed a wide variety of pendants, including ones made from stone, shell, bone and teeth. He provided the following descriptions of these:

> The typical stone pendant is a small, thin, round or oval shaped shale pebble with a hole drilled near one edge for suspension. None of those secured by the writer, however, were whole. Of the thirteen stone pendants found by Mr. Sonley, one was made from a whitish stone. A few specimens are decorated with notches on the edges... with incised lines... or with incised star-shaped figures. There are not so many decorated specimens, however, as at other Neutral sites, especially those in Elgin County; even the pebbles are scarce ... (An) oblong sandstone pebble... with the beginning of a hole at the larger end was probably in process of manufacture into a pendant or bead. Pendants also, perhaps were ... perforated triangular and trapezoidal stone specimens ...
>
> There are several pendants made of shell. The spatulate specimen with biconical suspension hole... is derived from the lip of a freshwater clam and retains the pallial line of the inside of the shell on one side. Another perforated pendant-like ornament of a beautiful light amber colour ... is derived from a large clam shell. The hinge part of another highly nacreous clam shell ... (was) pierced with a hole ... (as were) two others, also of clam shell, one of them with two holes ... (Another) consists of a small, irregular fragment of the lip of an ocean shell, with the smaller end notched for suspension...
>
> The perforated ball joint of a femur of a young deer... may have been used as a pendant.
>
> There are three pendants made of canine teeth, by perforating the root, two (one in the Sonley collection) are bear teeth, the other, also in the Sonley collection, from another mammal, probably

a raccoon (Wintemberg 1939:34-35).

The "perforated triangular and trapezoidal stone specimens" referred to in the above passage included a complete triangular-shaped pendant of unidentified material, which David Boyle (1896b:45) had earlier illustrated and described as being a possible "ear ornament" from the Shaw-Wood (Lawson) site; it was "two and five-eighth inches in length and a quarter of an inch thick" (ibid.).

Additional examples of beads and pendants not otherwise described in the text of Wintemberg's report are illustrated, with captions, in the plates to the report. The most notable of these are a pendant made by perforating a freshwater snail, *Campeloma decisum*, and a bead or pendant made by perforating a *Marginella apicina* marine shell (1939:86-87). There was also a "blank derived from large, thick shell of freshwater clam, probably in process of manufacture into bead or other ornament" (ibid.).

Several additional pendants have been discovered at Lawson since 1976 (Figure 2). There is a truly unique object manufactured from a large, thick marine shell (Figure 2a). It (#6512) is rectangular in outline, 52.6 mm long, 29.4 mm wide and 12.3 mm thick. The long, lateral edges have been rounded smooth and are highly polished. Both ends are bevelled; both slope inward when viewed from the top and both are polished smooth. A suspension hole 3.0 mm in diameter has been drilled lengthwise through this piece; due to the bevelling of the ends, this means the hole is 46.2 mm long. Unfortunately there is no provenience for this item - it was recovered from the site by Wilfrid Jury in the 1940s.

There are two other shell pendants. One (#870021; Figure 2b) is a piece of marine shell cut into a small rectangle 16.1 mm long by 14.5 mm wide by 5.5 mm thick, with a 2.2 mm diameter suspension hole. The other (#5515) is a small clam shell fragment, triangular in outline, 16.2 mm wide by 13.8 mm long by 1.5 mm thick with a tiny 0.7 mm drilled suspension hole.

One pendant (#15680; Figure 2c) is a triangular-shaped distal deer phalange, it being the only known artifact from Lawson made from a distal phalange. Another fragmentary pendant (#25894; Figure 2d) is a medial phalange, possibly human. A third pendant (#20028058), also fragmentary, is made from a medial deer phalange. On all three of these the suspension hole was drilled crosswise through the phalange, perpendicular to the long axis.

A fragmentary object made from one condyle only of the distal end a mammalian phalange, could be considered to be either a bead or a pendant. It (#983104) is 8.1 mm long and 7.9 mm wide, 4.1 mm thick with a 5.1 mm diameter hole drilled through it longitudinally.

There are two additional bone pendants, each made by drilling a small hole through one end of a mammal long bone splinter fragment. One of these (#990044) has been deliberately cut into a rectangular shape 36. 2mm long, 18.2 mm wide and 6.1 mm thick, and the outer surface is slightly polished. The other (#984128) is simply an outer cortex fragment of a long bone with the naturally-occurring hole (the nutrient foramen) having been slightly enlarged by drilling to facilitate suspension.

A pendant (#20028074) has been made by drilling a 3.1 mm diameter hole through the base of a trilobite fossil (Figure 2e). This pendant is 27.3 mm long, 30.8 mm wide and 14.6 mm thick.

There are two pendants made from fossiliferous limestone (e.g. Figure 2f). Unlike other pendants made from fossils or fossiliferous stones, these two objects were not purposefully drilled to create suspension holes. Rather, on both specimens the suspension hole was created by a cavity left after a fossil had fallen out (or was deliberately knocked out) of the stone. On both specimens, therefore, the suspension hole is much larger than if it had been drilled. One pendant (#556) is 58.5 mm long, 41.0 mm wide and 19.7 mm thick. The suspension hole is irregular in shape but roughly circular with a minimum diameter of 10.9 mm; it is worn smooth/highly polished. The pebble also contains at least ten other pin holes or concavities left behind when fossils fell out of the rock; none of these penetrate all of the way through the stone. The largest of these is 3.1 mm in diameter. This item was found on the site prior to 1930 by the former owner, Mr. Ray Lawson, and there is no provenience for it. The second example of this type (#997011) is a roundish-shaped limestone pebble 38.2 mm in diameter, with a centrally-located fossil impression 13.2 mm in diameter extending all the way through it; this hole and the entire surface of the pendant are worn/polished smooth.

In addition to the stone pendants found or described by Wintemberg, there are 12 other examples from Lawson; eight of those are black shale (Figure 8g). Black shale pebble pendants, often referred to as slate pendants, are common on Middle and Late Ontario Iroquois Stage sites throughout southwestern Ontario. Emerson (1954:94) commented that "a very useful Neutral and early period marker are what are commonly called 'tear-drop' pebble pendants...These are simply small flat beach pebbles (such as occur abundantly along the shore of Lake Erie) which have been drilled for suspension...Such pebble pendants occur at Middleport, Uren, Lawson and Pound village sites, clearly marking their early and Neutral-area affinity. They are missing elsewhere". In a recent article, Fox (2002) noted that these items should be properly referred to as shale (not slate), and that this material originates from a specific geological context (clasts in Port Stanley till glacial drift) found eroding out of cliffs along the north shore of Lake Erie, particularly in the vicinity of Port Stanley and Port Bruce. Fox's (ibid.) research on these items led him to extend both the chronological range and known geographical distribution of such pendants.

The eight black shale pebble pendants from Lawson involve four which are complete and four which are fragmentary. The four complete ones are tear-drop (#576, #3308, #5611) and trapezoidal (#206007) in outline and range in length from 19.8 mm to 34.6 mm, in maximum width from 11.9 mm to 21.2 mm and in thickness from 2.1 mm to 5.2. All have a single suspension hole drilled at the narrow end; the holes vary from 1.4 mm to 2.8 mm in diameter. The four fragmentary black shale pebble pendants are slightly larger in overall size than the complete ones. Three of these (#6150, #9788, #11143) have snapped across the top where the suspension hole was drilled, on each leaving only one-half of the hole. The fourth fragment (#15886) is unique in that it is the bottom half of a pendant that was notched along the bottom edge, with five notches (Figure 2h).

The remaining four stone pendants are made from materials other than black shale. One (#1343) is a pinkish-coloured, sandstone-like material with darker red mottles. This item is trapezoidal in outline, 40.2 mm long, 38.0 mm in maximum width and 3.1 mm thick. All four edges of this piece are polished/worn smooth, with the top edge closest to the suspension hole being much smoother than the other three edges. Another (#2559), possibly red shale or slate, is fragmentary (broken across the top through the suspension hole; see Figure 2i); it is 27.8 mm long, 23.3 mm in maximum width and 5.5 mm thick. The edges and both surfaces of this object are polished/worn smooth. A third (#20020019), made from a soft, sandstone-like material, is irregular but roughly rectangular in outline, 20.2 mm long, 14.6 mm in maximum width and 5.0 mm thick, with a 1.9 mm diameter suspension hole that is placed slightly off-centre at the top of the pendant. The fourth is a trapezoidal-shaped, thin pebble (#20015094), 20.1 mm long, 13.6 mm wide at one end narrowing to under 9 mm at the other (rounded) end. It is 2.2 mm thick, with polished surfaces and edges and a 2.2 mm diameter hole drilled through the narrower end. It is reddish stone (not shale or slate) with slight white mottling.

Human Effigy Pendant

An effigy (#581; Figure 3a) has been fashioned from a small nodule of fossiliferous, calcareous siltstone. The nodule has traces of iron oxide to give it a distinct yellow colour. The nodule is from Palaeozoic rock, not native in the bedrock in the London area; thus this material had to have been transported into the London area glacially or by human agency. The most obvious features of the effigy are to two eyes, which have been purposefully drilled from both sides. However close inspection under a microscope revealed that the inner shafts of the drilled holes are irregular rather than perfectly smooth - both were natural holes or concavities where fossils (probably crinoids) had fallen out, and these holes were then embellished by purposeful drilling. The wry-shaped mouth was created by enhancing (carving out) a long, narrow cavity created along the right edge of the stone by another crinoid or crinoid-like fossil. There are several other very tiny pin holes elsewhere on the front, back and sides of the effigy; these are most likely traces from microfossils that had eroded away. The surfaces of the eye holes are polished, as if this object had been suspended through both eye holes as a pendant. There is also polishing on the raised surfaces (including nose and upper left quadrant or "ear"), indicating this object had been handled or worn a considerable amount.

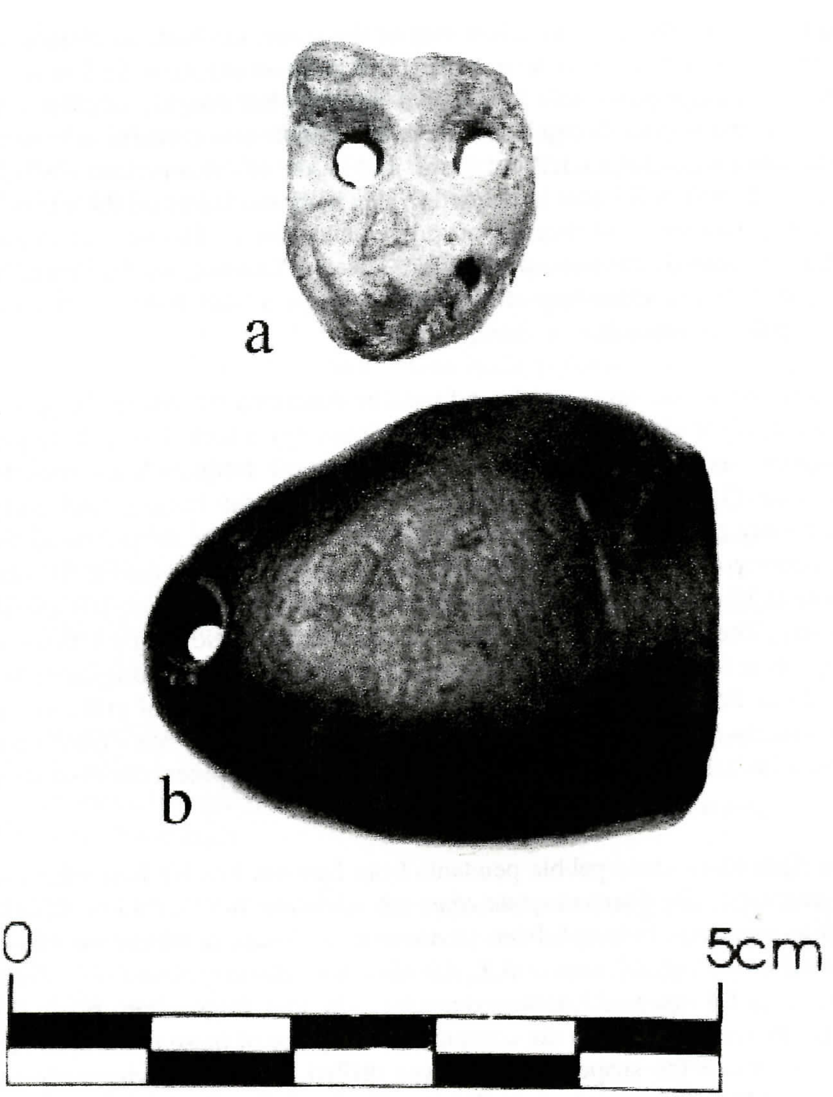

Figure 3: Effigy Pendants. a: human effigy; b: fish effigy.

The effigy is 21.9 mm long, 17.7 mm wide and 12.1 mm thick. When viewed from the front, the left eye is 3.2 mm in diameter and the right eye is 3.1 mm in diameter. The carved notch mouth is 6.2 mm long and 2.3 mm wide. Unfortunately, there is no provenience for this unique item; it was discovered on the site by former owner Mr. Ray Lawson and comprised part of an assemblage of varied material donated to the Museum by the Lawson family.

The effigy has been examined by several people; half of them agree with the author that the object is a human effigy, while the other half are of the opinion it resembles an owl.

Fish Effigy Pendant

Another unique item from Lawson is a stone pendant which can be interpreted as a fish effigy (Figure 3b). This object was donated to the London Museum of Archaeology as part of the large Cameron Wilson Collection. Mr. Wilson kept accurate notes and a catalogue of where or how he obtained most of the items in his collection, and his entry for this particular specimen (#1416) recorded that it had originally been obtained from the Lawson site by John Sonley.

The fish effigy pendant is made from a slate-like or shale-like material. It is actually a fragment from a broken stone pipe. The small bowl of the pipe had been created by drilling into the top surface a depression which has a maximum exterior diameter of 12.0 mm. The base of the bowl is intersected by a 8.2 mm diameter hole which would have been through the stem of the pipe. However, the stem obviously broke away from the bowl and the bowl fragment was then recycled. The irregular surface caused by the break was ground and polished flat and smooth. The surviving fragment is slightly ovate in outline when viewed from the side, excepting the flat surface just noted. The piece is 40.1 mm long, 29.4 mm wide and 23.7 mm thick. At the front of the bowl fragment there are two intersecting holes, one drilled from each side. The holes are positioned and located such that, when viewed from the front and side, the bowl fragment can be interpreted as a fish effigy. The interior surfaces and edges of the drilled holes are highly polished/worn smooth, as if this item had been suspended on a cord or some other material and worn as a pendant.

Bangles?

Some modified mammalian phalanges which have the proximal end only removed, leaving a major portion of the shaft and distal end and with a hole drilled through the distal end and the marrow cavity of the shaft hollowed out, have often been interpreted as units for the "cup-and-pin" game (Guilday 1963). Sometimes, both the proximal and distal ends have been removed to leave a cone-shaped object, also interpreted as a probable "cup-and-pin" game unit (ibid.). However, there is varied opinion about these objects, and several alternative functions have been proposed (McCullough 1975:92-97). Those alternative functions include their possible use as bangles (ibid.:94; Ritchie 1969:270; Wright 1960:115). The interpretation of cone-shaped deer phalanges in particular as bangles receives credence when one considers that in the historic period most Iroquoian groups utilized similarly sized brass and copper cones as bangles (see, for example, Kenyon 1982:80, 82 for examples from the historic Neutral Grimsby Cemetery).

Some researchers believe some phalanges modified in this way could have been attached to garments as "fringe jangles or 'tinklers', which would have created a soft, rattelike sound when the individual danced" (Engelbrecht 2003:50). In reference to some specimens of this nature from various New York State sites, William Beauchamp (1902:316-317) stated these phalanges "may have fringed the dress or anklets, as the hoofs of deer and sheep afterward did", and also that such phalanges may have been worn as noise-makers on leg garters (ibid.:322). Specimens from New York include both deer and elk phalanges (Tuck 1971:69).

There is documentation that many different native North American groups modified mammalian phalanges (and other types of bone) for use as bangles, jinglers or tinklers (Boyle 1896b:69; Guilday 1963:159).Wintemberg (1936:60) even proposed that, in addition to certain modified phalanges, some perforated shells "may have been used as a rattling fringe around the edge of garments".

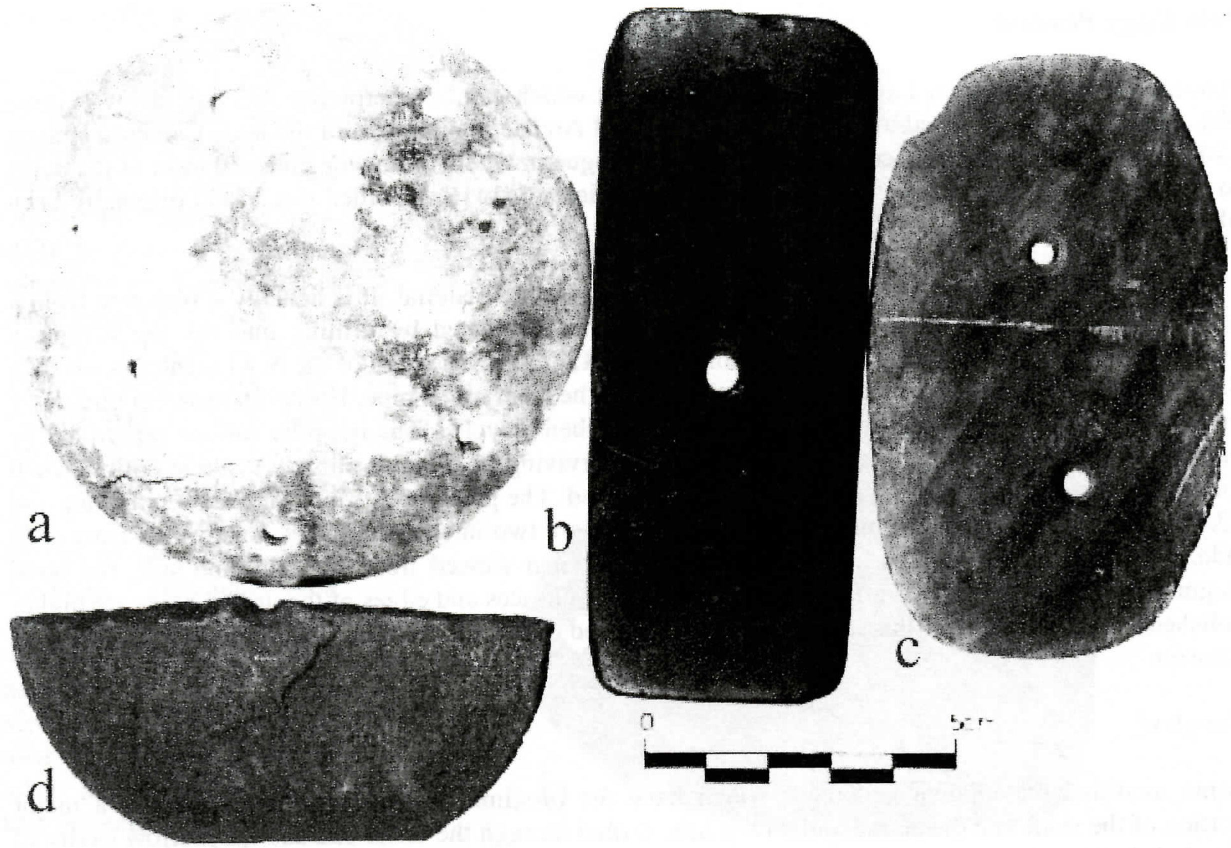

Figure 4: Gorgets and Disk. a: human skull gorget (or rattle?); b: one hole gorget or pendant; c: two-hole gorget; d: perforated stone disk.

The Lawson site has yielded a large number of deer phalanges that have been modified in this way (i.e. proximal end only removed, distal end drilled). Wintemberg (1939:35) spoke of 40 (19 complete plus 21 broken or unfinished ones), while the more recent London Museum of Archaeology excavations have recovered at least 35 more. There are also four elk phalanges modified in a similar manner.

The pieces modified in this way are clearly distinguishable from the distal end beads, especially in terms of overall length. On a sample of 17 bangle type deer phalanges from Lawson, the overall lengths ranged from 25 mm to 50 mm with a mean of 33.6 mm. Thus, the 'bangles' are on average nearly three times the length of the distal end beads.

Since a richer, deeper sound is produced by the longest specimens, there may have been a deliberate attempt to make the bangles as long as possible.

The bangle type mammalian phalanges from Lawson are not polished or worn smooth to the same degree as the mammalian phalange distal end beads.

Toggles?

There are examples of mammalian phalanges from Lawson (and other Iroquoian sites) that were modified by grinding down one or more of the outer surfaces; frequently the shaft of the phalange and adjoining sections of one or both ends (epiphyses) were flattened. One cannot rule out the possibility that phalanges modified in this way were toggles - devices which could have been used to fasten items of clothing together (McCullough 1978:96-97). As such, these items could potentially be considered as personal adornment objects.

There are five deer phalanges from Lawson which have both the distal and proximal ends intact but which have been ground flat on one side of the shaft, exposing the marrow cavity. The degree of grinding and the flatness of the shafts on the Lawson pieces modified in this way is nowhere near that of similar specimens recovered at other sites, such as Draper (McCullough 1978:36, 39), Nodwell (Wright 1974:248) and Roebuck (Wintemberg 1936:70-72). Also, none of the Lawson specimens are decorated like some of the ones found at Draper, Roebuck or other sites.

In reference to these possible "toggles", it is important to note alternative explanations for similar objects. At the Nodwell site, Wright (1974:100) found several pairs of such modified phalanges in association with each other in longhouse pits, and he concluded that such modified phalanges could have been "the end toggles on a cord used in lashing functions". Also, Wintemberg (1936:72) suggested that some of the many "flattened phalanges" from Roebuck could have been shuttles. In view of this it is perhaps wise to repeat what David Boyle said over a century ago - "many carpal bones ... are found, more or less rubbed down, but it is not known with what intention" (Boyle 1895:78).

Bone Gorgets

Although there is considerable debate over the function/use of gorgets, most researchers would probably agree that at least some were worn as items of personal adornment. This conclusion is supported by the fact that bone, shell, copper and stone gorgets have been discovered in direct association with human burials at sites of various eras spanning the Archaic to historic periods (see, for example, Donaldson and Wortner 1995:16, 51; Kenyon 1982:24-25).

Wintemberg's text concerning the bone gorgets from Lawson reads as follows:

> The bone gorgets, of which two specimens were secured by the writer, another by Mr. Sonley, and a fragment by Mr. Cary, are made from pieces of human skull. The specimen in the Cary collection is highly polished, and has five perforations, which all show wearing on the edges. The other fragment ... with part of two perforations remaining on each edge, and bearing an incised reticulate design on the convex side, was made from the skull of a child. (Another) specimen ... seems to have been fashioned from a parietal, shows traces of a second suspension hole and may have had still others. The convex side is highly polished and the edges of the surviving hole are worn from the chafing of the suspension cord. (Another) ...specimen ... seems also derived from a parietal. No attempt was made to smooth the inside or to obliterate the arterial grooves. The convex side is smoothed, in some spots highly polished; and the edges are also polished, probably from chafing against the wearer's breast or clothing. There are five holes, the two upper biconical ones for suspension, as signs of wearing are present on the upper edges; the others are conical, probably for the attachment of strings of beads and other ornaments. The hole at the lower left is only partially drilled. Parts of the convex surface are covered with finely incised, and apparently meaningless, lines, some of which may not have been intentional...
>
> A nearly circular piece of human skull, with the edges left in a rough, broken condition and with a large X-like figure scratched on the convex side, is evidently in process of manufacture into a gorget (Wintemberg 1939:36).

The London Museum of Archaeology's excavations at Lawson since 1976 have led to the discovery of two additional fragments of bone gorgets, both of which are made from human parietals. One fragment (#870407) retains one intact suspension hole (4.0 mm in diameter, drilled from both sides) and is broken into a triangular shape with the two break or fracture lines occurring through two other drilled holes. The surviving portion of this fragment has both surfaces, and the outer edge, polished/worn smooth. The other fragment (#208022) is also triangular-shaped with the two break or fracture lines occurring through two suspension holes. It also has the two surfaces and the outer edge polished/worn smooth.

In the Museum's collections there is a complete bone gorget, made from a human parietal (Figure 4a). It was accessioned as part of a larger collection of archaeological and ethnographic materials donated to the Museum in 1981. The gorget (#981-5:681) had previously been in the ownership of another collector, and it had previously been catalogued as J.H. 903, with the words "Lawson - London" clearly written on the inside surface. There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of this item or the fact that it came from the Lawson site. The gorget is 9.5 cm in diameter and contains six holes, irregularly spaced around the inside of the outer circumference. All six holes were drilled from both surfaces, but they vary in diameter from 3.7 mm to 5.8 mm. Both surfaces and all edges of the gorget, as well as the interiors and edges of the suspension holes, are highly polished/worn smooth.

In his report on the Roebuck site, Wintemberg (1936:74) put forth the suggestion that human skull gorgets were "suspended from the neck by a cord attached to two holes nearest the edge, the other holes being probably intended for the attachment of subsidiary ornaments".

However, it is also possible that some of the 'gorgets' with multiple holes were not gorgets at all, but rather parts of human skull rattles akin to turtle shell rattles (Engelbrecht 2003:43; Prevac and Noble 1983:47; Ridley 1961:32). Finlayson (1998:244, 1266) interpreted one human skull cap with seven perforations around the outer circumference, from the Middleport period Crawford Lake site, as a "skullcap rattle". At the protohistoric Seneca Iroquois Adams site, five human skull pieces (four parietals and one frontal) with multiple perforations were identified as pieces from three separate rattles (Wray et al 1987:45-46). In that regard, it can be noted that in the historic period rattles were also made from copper. Examples of copper rattles from the Grimsby Cemetery (Kenyon 1982:21-23, 193-194, 205) have upper and lower halves of copper disks which in terms of overall size, shape and placement of multiple holes very closely resemble some of the objects previously identified as human skull gorgets. The fact that some of the modified human skull pieces from Lawson could be parts of rattles is supported by the co-occurrence of turtle shell rattles. One complete snapping turtle carapace modified for use as a rattle at the Lawson site was previously described (Smith 1983:5-6), another similarly modified turtle carapace fragment was discovered at Lawson in 1998, and Wintemberg (1939:37, 88-89) described at least two others from Lawson, made from painted and wood turtles. At the prehistoric Neutral Clearville site there was a human parietal 10.7 cm in diameter with eight perforations drilled around the outer circumference (Jury 1941:Plate IX); the presence on the exterior surface of this piece of incised lines resembling a sunburst or starburst and a stick figure image of a headless individual suggests that some of these objects pertain more to the ceremonial or ritual realm than to the secular one. Nevertheless it remains possible that some of the modified human skull parietals were gorgets rather than parts of rattles since one from the Lawson site (Wintemberg 1939:89) and another from Clearville (Jury 1941:Plate VIII) each have only one drilled hole. Also, the historic Neutral continued to use stone and shell gorgets (i.e. Kenyon 1982:25; Ridley 1961:52), so it is likely some human skull gorgets co-existed with human skullcap rattles.

Wintemberg (1939:96-97) listed and illustrated another object, made from the half-shell of a freshwater clam, which he had seen in the Cary Collection from the Lawson site. The object has notches along the surviving outer edge, and is decorated with a series of circular depressions (punctates) which do not perforate through the shell. Wintemberg suggested this item was perhaps a "spoon", but it might equally be considered to be a fragment from a gorget.

Stone Gorgets

As with bone gorgets, there is considerable debate over the function/use of slate gorgets; they may have been ceremonial, utilitarian or decorative. Again, however, it is probable that at least some slate gorgets were intended for use as items of personal adornment since some have been recovered at other sites of various time periods in direct association with human burials (see, for example, Donaldson and Wortner 1995:16, 51; Kenyon 1982:24-25). A further discussion of gorgets is presented in the Conclusions section of the present article.

Stone (slate) gorgets are very different in size, shape and placement of holes than bone and shell gorgets, and may have been worn or used in a manner very different from bone and shell gorgets. There is also a more diverse opinion among researchers about the use of stone gorgets. Some writers (Wintemberg 1928:181; Converse 1971) classify some gorget-shaped slate objects which have only have one drilled hole as 'pendants', reserving the term 'gorget' for stone (slate) objects with two or more drilled holes. Converse described and illustrated many forms of two-hole slate gorgets and noted that while some examples had been found with burials *in situ* at the wearer's wrist, some had also been found *in situ* on the breast (1971:19, 22, 23).

In regard to the single slate gorget which he found at the Lawson site, Wintemberg (1939:36) wrote that it was made from "veined grey slate" and that it was "covered on both faces with incised lines". Elsewhere, in his discussion of "Decorative Art", Wintemberg referred to this same slate gorget as having two distinct life forms carved on it. The first consisted of two diagonal lines crossed by another shorter line at right angles, which formed "a body-like figure, slightly constricted near the middle. They were intended, perhaps, to represent a human form, or they may mean nothing at all, like the rest of the lines on the side of the gorget" (1939:55). The second life form was on the opposite side of that gorget, where

> ...there is part of what seems to have been an incised bird form... The large rectangular figure probably represents the body, as in a delineation of the thunder bird on a stone pipe from Oxford County, Ontario, the three diagonal lines on the broken edge at the upper right being perhaps part of the wing feathers, and a straight and a curved line at the lower right of the rectangle marking the contour of the left leg, with the digits represented by three diverging short lines. The patch of scratched lines at the lower left obscures the outline of the other leg, if it was ever shown (1939:55-56).

Wintemberg also referred to a second slate gorget from the Lawson site, which he had seen in the George Cary collection.

The London Museum of Archaeology has other slate gorgets from Lawson or reportedly from Lawson. One of these (#6151) is a complete rectangular specimen of black slate, 110.0 mm long, 41.1 mm in maximum width and 8.2 mm in maximum thickness (Figure 4b). It is highly polished on all surfaces and edges, and has one centrally-located hole 5.2 mm in diameter which had been drilled from both sides. This specimen was part of the original Jury Collection and had been discovered on the Lawson site by Wilfrid Jury in the 1930s. Another slate gorget (#870463) is a fragment from an unfinished specimen, which had snapped across the centre where a hole had been drilled. The fragment is 40.2 mm long, 35.8 mm wide and 7.6 mm thick; the hole was 5.1 mm in diameter. This piece was excavated by the Museum in 1987, from within the same longhouse as a human skull gorget (or rattle?) fragment (discussed above). There are also four slate gorgets in the Cameron Wilson Collection at the Museum; three of these are complete or relatively complete two-hole specimens (Figure 4c), while the fourth is a fragment which had broken through the drilled hole.

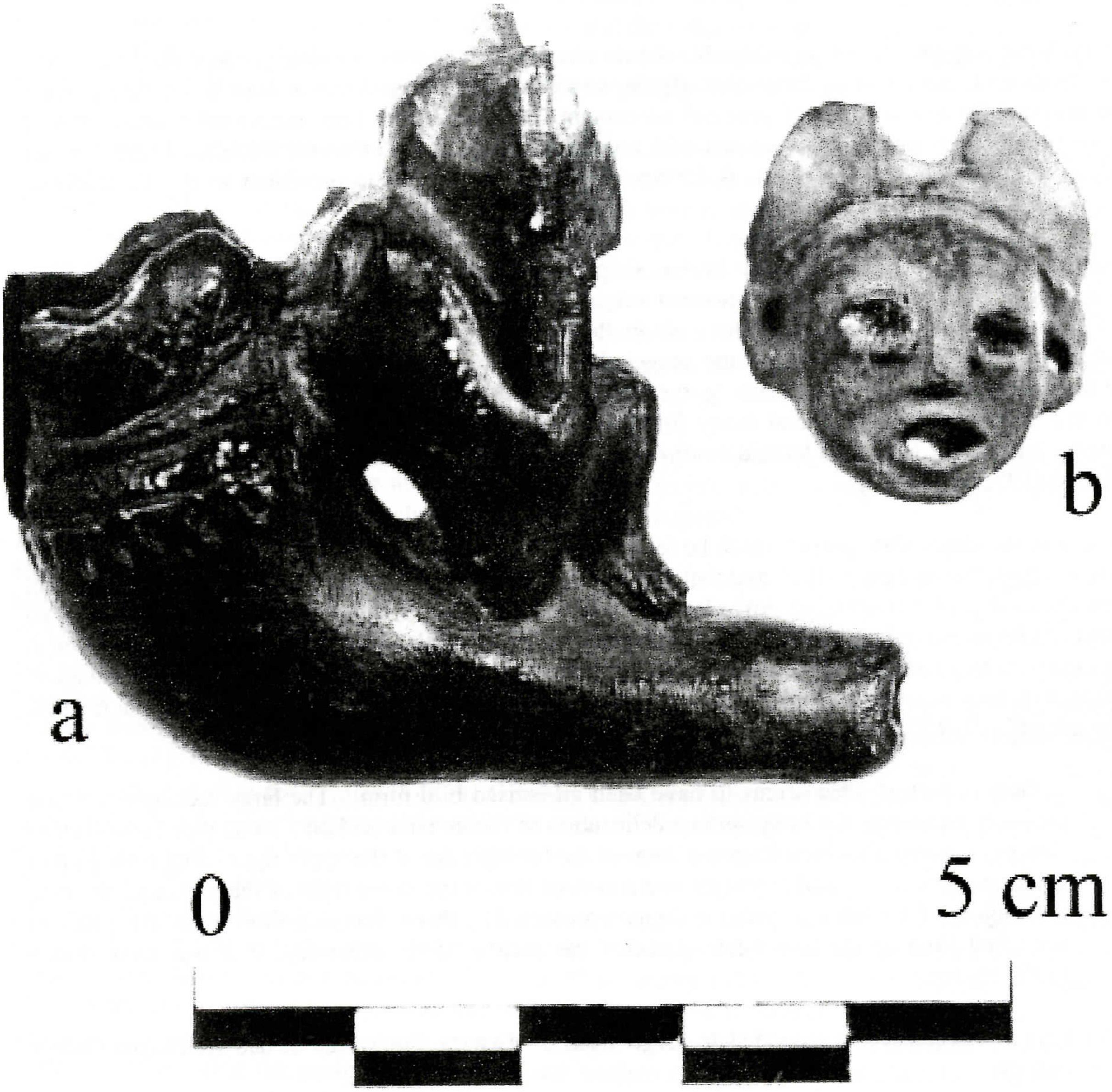

Figure 5: Human Effigy Pipes. These show the same image or individual with pierced ears. a: complete pipe; b: pipe fragment.

The Lawson site has also yielded a total of six perforated stone disks. Three of these are fossiliferous limestone pebbles (#467, #468 and #25616), each with one intentionally drilled hole near the outer circumference. The other three perforated disks (7294, #23273, #28102) are ground pieces of sandstone, each with one hole drilled at or very near the centre (e.g. Figure 4d). One of these has been deliberately modified into a six-sided disk. On another, the outer edges have been bevelled and on one surface the external mould of a brachiopod fossil is prominently displayed. The size of these six specimens at 68 mm to 92 mm in diameter approximates that of human skull gorgets, but their heavy weight calls into question their possible function as gorgets. Also, none of the six specimens is polished or worn smooth from use. Their function remains a mystery.

One additional item which might be interpreted as a stone gorget from the Lawson site was described and illustrated by David Boyle in the 1894-95 Annual Archaeological Report (Boyle 1896b:63-64), although it is unlike any other 'gorget' known to the present author. It is an ovate-shaped piece of Huronia slate "three and three-eighth inches long, and two and three-fourth inches wide, and varies in thickness from half an inch at one end to little more than a quarter of an inch at the other" (ibid.:63). It has three holes. "The large, central hole is from an inch and a quarter to an inch and a half in diameter" (ibid.) while two other holes, one at either end, are considerably smaller.

Comb

Only one comb has been found to date at the Lawson site. It is described and illustrated by Wintemberg (1939:33, Plate XII Figure 1) as made from antler. Overall, it is not quite 9 cm long and 1.75 cm wide, and it has three teeth. It is not decorated. It was discovered on the site in the early twentieth century by Mr. John Sonley.

Armlet

Wintemberg (1939:35, Plate XII Figure 23) described and illustrated an item referred to as an "armlet" (bracelet), made from "thin bone or antler". It was polished/worn smooth on both surfaces, along the edges, and around the circumference of one of the two holes which had been drilled through it. It has an incised design of intersecting oblique lines and dots on the outer surface. It, too, was discovered on the site by Mr. Sonley.

OTHER EVIDENCE/SUGGESTIONS FOR PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Evidence for Pierced Ears

Two remarkable effigy pipes from Lawson have highly accurate representations of human heads, and both of these have both of the ears pierced. One of the objects with pierced ears is a complete human figure ceramic effigy pipe (Figure 5a), and the other is a ceramic effigy pipe fragment (Figure 5b; Pearce 1990:4-5).

Jesuit Father Jouvency wrote that among the historic Huron of the early seventeenth century, "the men as well as the women pierce the lobes of their ears, and place in them earrings made of glass or shells. The larger the hole, the more beautiful they consider it" (Jesuit Relations I:281).

Gabriel Sagard's account of his journeys among the Huron described the custom of piercing ears. He wrote:

> when the woman bears a child the custom of the country (of the Hurons) is that she pierces the ears of the child with an awl or a fish-bone and puts in the quill of a feather or something else to keep the hole open, and afterwards suspends to it wampum beads or other trifles... (Wrong 1939:127).

The two effigy pipes with pierced ears from Lawson indicate that the prehistoric Neutral followed the same practices as the historic Huron, while the Grimsby Cemetery furnished evidence (i.e. shell ear plugs and beads hung from ears) (Kenyon 1982:72, 99) that the historic Neutral did also.

Evidence for Hair Dressing

In addition to the archaeological evidence for combs, Wintemberg (1939:32-33) wrote in reference to human effigies that:

> The decorated band around the forehead of the human face mask (on a ceramic effigy pipe), and the horn-like projections on the head of the little human figure on (another effigy) pipe... were intended perhaps to show the manner of wearing the hair. There is also a triangular figure in relief on the side of another pipe fragment which may have represented long, braided locks of hair hanging down the back.

In a separate discussion of another Lawson site human effigy pipe, Wintemberg (1939:54-55) suggested that it had:

> horns on the head, and a small elevation on the back of it in which there was a vertical hole, perhaps for the reception of a feather. Although... it is hard to say if the horn-like projections on the head were intended to represent symbolic horns, or the ears of a head-dress made from the skin of an animal, or a mode of dressing the hair...

Evidence for Tattooing and Body Painting

Jesuit Father Paul Le Jeune's account of Brebeuf's and Chaumonot's journey among "the Attawandarons, or people of the Neutral Nation" in 1640-1641 provides undeniable proof that the historic Neutral of the seventeenth century were experts in the art of body tattooing:

> ...their own bodies, upon which, from the head even to the feet, they cause to be made a thousand different figures with charcoal pricked into their flesh, upon which previously they have traced their lines - so that sometimes one sees the face and breast ornamented with figures, as are in France the helmets, breastplates and gorgets of military men; and the remainder of the body is appropriately decorated (Jesuits Relations 21:197).

A more elaborate description by Joseph Jouvency, S.J., of tattooing and body painting among the Huron also makes reference to the Neutral custom of tattooing, as follows:

> (the Huron) bodies... have the same complexion as the French, although they disfigure it with fat and rancid oil, with which they grease themselves; nor do they neglect paints of various colors, by means of which they appear beautiful to themselves, but to us ridiculous. Some may be seen with blue noses, but with cheeks and eyebrows black; others mark forehead, nose and cheeks with lines of various colors; one would think he beheld so many hobgoblins. They believe that in colors of this description they are dreadful to their enemies, and that likewise their own fear in line of battle will be concealed as by a veil; finally, that it hardens the skin of the body, so that the cold of winter is more easily borne. Besides these colors, which are usually applied or removed according to the pleasure of each person, many impress upon the skin fixed and permanent representations of birds or animals, such as a snake, an eagle, or a toad, in the following manner: With awls, spear points, or thorns they so puncture the neck, breast or cheeks as to trace rude outlines of those objects; next, they insert into the pierced and bleeding skin a black powder made from pulverized charcoal, which unites with the blood and so fixes upon the living flesh the pictures which have been drawn that no length of time can efface them. Some entire tribes - that especially which is called the Tobacco nation, and also another, which is called *the Neutral nation - practice it as a continuous custom and usage*; sometimes it is not without danger, especially if the season be somewhat cold or the physical constitution rather weak. For then,

> overcome by suffering, although they do not betray it by even a groan, they swoon away and sometimes drop dead. They praise small eyes and turned-up and projecting lips... (Jesuit Relations I:279-281 - emphasis added).

Father Gabriel Sagard also makes reference to the Huron custom of tattooing, and the same description may have applied to the Neutral. He wrote that the Huron

> ... have their body and face marked in divisions, with representations of snakes, lizards, squirrels and other animals, and chiefly those of the Tobacco nation who, almost all, have their bodies thus patterned. It makes them frightful and hideous to those unaccustomed to it. The method of pricking and fashioning it is the same as is used for fashioning and incising on the surface of the flesh the crosses which those who return from Jerusalem have on their arms forever, but they get them done on different successive occasions because these incisions give great pain and they often fall ill from them, even to the extent of having fever, with loss of appetite... What I wondered at in this was to see some women, few however, decorated in the same manner... (Wrong 1939:145).

Jesuit Father Bressani also wrote, specifically of the Neutral, that "I know not whether a single individual was found, who was not painted in this manner (with tattoos), on some part of the body" (Jesuit Relations XXXVIII:251).

There is some archaeological evidence that the prehistoric Neutral at the Lawson site were earlier practicing these methods of tattooing and body painting. Wintemberg (1939:33) wrote that "the lines descending diagonally across the cheeks of the two human faces on (two effigy pipes) and on the chin of (a third human effigy pipe) may have been intended to represent similar lines painted or tattooed on the cheeks and chins of the Indians". Elsewhere, Wintemberg (1939:56) referred to an incised design on the forehead on the face of another human effigy pipe; that design, which he likened to a "British Broad Arrow", may have been meant to replicate a design painted or tattooed on the forehead of a living individual.

Excavations at the Lawson site have unearthed long, narrow modified and polished bone splinters and polished catfish pectoral fins that could very well have been used for a very specific purpose as tattooing needles. However, the Jesuit missionaries wrote that the Huron (and Neutral) utilized several different tools for the purpose of tattooing, including "needles, sharp awls, or piercing thorns" (JR XXXVIII:251), so it is also probable that a multitude of objects may have been used for this purpose in prehistoric times. Thus, even varieties of bone awls common on the Lawson site may have been used for tattooing.

Wintemberg (1939:33) suggested that a piece of yellow ochre he discovered, together with evidence for traces of red ochre on a few stones and artifacts, may be interpreted as evidence for body painting. The more recent London Museum of Archaeology excavations have recovered tiny fragments of both red and yellow ochre, plus a few stones and two artifacts (a metate fragment and an abrader) totally covered in red ochre dust. The use of red ochre may not have been specific to body painting, however, since the Museum's excavations have also uncovered at least one ceramic body sherd (#15481a) which has a red dot 8.0 mm in diameter painted on the exterior surface.

Masks

Wintemberg (1939:37) stated that "the appearance of some of the faces on stone and earthenware pipes... suggests that they were intended to represent masks, although we have no historical evidence of the use of masks by the Neutrals".

A mask might potentially be considered an item of personal adornment, although most masks were probably only used for ritualistic or ceremonial functions. Although some effigy pipes have been interpreted as possibly representing masks, it is a matter of interest to note that some of the earliest known examples of effigy art in Ontario occurred on "amulets and special charms rather than with smoking pipes" (Noble 1979:69, with specific reference to a ceramic fish effigy from the Princess Point type site and a human effigy from the Glen Meyer DeWaele site). [Note, however, that Williamson (1990:299) specified the DeWaele specimen was a human face "medallion" from an effigy pipe.]

Many researchers have put forth a myriad of interpretations about effigy art, especially human effigies depicted on ceramic and stone pipes. It is well beyond the scope of the present article to delve too deeply into this topic. It can be noted, however, that ***some*** human effigy pipes could have been meant to be representations of specific masks used in Iroquoian masking ceremonies (Fenton 1941:18). It is also possible that "the effigies themselves may be portrayals of masked human figures" (Noble 1979:84, citing Boyle 1906:18).

While recognizing that the primary function of human effigies on pipes (or in other media, such as stone pendants) probably had more to do with ceremonies and rituals than with personal adornment, one cannot deny that SOME human effigies may have been portraitures of real, mythological or imagined personages. In that sense, any possible depictions of personal adornment, hair styles or clothing on effigies are potentially of relevance to a discussion of personal adornment. David Boyle (1901:14) stated that "attempts at imitating the human features were of a very general kind; in other words, the primitive artist did not aim at portraiture in the exact sense" and that in human effigies there was "no attempt at portraiture". Boyle did say that "it is not improbable that he sometimes tried to represent a broken nose, a blind eye, a wry face, or some conspicuous arrangement of hair, but that was all" (ibid.:21). Noble (1979:81) suggested that "the diversified range in human effigies appears to corroborate" Boyle's statement, but Noble noted that, in regard to human effigy pipes, "the closest this art comes to precise human portraiture lies in representations of specific hairstyles (e.g., Top-knot), headbands, hats, necklaces and facial tattoos". Elsewhere in the same article, Noble (ibid.:86) concluded that "some, but not all, pipe effigies represent portrait art, but not in an exact sense. Certain zoomorphic effigies are clearly identifiable as to species, and specific human effigies have close similarities to League founders". He also stated (ibid.) that "the Open Lip and Blow Face human effigies have physical parallels to specific medicine masks".

Human effigies do occur, albeit rarely, in forms other than on pipes. The effigy pendant from Lawson, described above, is one example. Other examples are the crude human effigy figurines from the prehistoric Neutral Savage site, interpreted as items used "in some type of ritual/magic activity" (Murphy 1986:42-43), and human effigy figurines from one of the Pincombe prehistoric Neutral special purpose sites (Pearce and Catsburg 1985).

The incidence of human effigy pipes at the Lawson site is not high. Wintemberg (1939) described, illustrated or mentioned a total of only seven effigy pipes (two stone and five ceramic). The London Museum of Archaeology's excavations on the Lawson site since 1976 have led to the recovery of an additional four ceramic human effigy pipe fragments (plus one ceramic bird effigy pipe and one stone zoomorphic effigy pipe stem fragment). Reference to some of the human effigies was made above, in regard to tattooing/body painting, hair dressing and pierced ears. Of relevance to the discussion of masks are three of the human effigies from Lawson: 1) a complete pipe with a full human body effigy which includes a very detailed face/head with pierced ears as well as a body with sculptured arms and legs with tiny incisions on the hands and feet to depict fingers and toes; 2) an effigy pipe fragment which has a face/head virtually identical to that on the full human body effigy; and 3) an effigy pipe fragment which is missing the head but which retains a sufficient portion of the body with arms and legs, hands and feet and fingers and toes to suggest it was identical to the first pipe just described (also see Pearce 1990:4-5;

Figure 5). Since the two faces/heads on two of these pipes are so identical and since the bodies on two of these pipes are so identical, it seems logical to conclude that all three were obviously meant to portray the same, single individual (or image). Of course, it is not possible to determine if that individual was a real person in everyday society, a shaman who was dressed/adorned in a specific manner, or a mythical being known to (some of) the site inhabitants. Regardless, the fact that three artifacts show what has to be the same image means that the Lawson site inhabitants must have been able to recognize that person or image by the way he was depicted (dressed/adorned) on the pipes, and what significance he had within their society.

DISCUSSION/CONCLUSIONS

At the Lawson site, there is considerable variation in the nature of the items used for personal adornment, as well as in the materials from which those items were made. These items include a variety of different types of beads and pendants made from bone, shell, teeth, antler, stone, fossils, earthenware and copper.

With only a few exceptions, the items of personal adornment from the Lawson site are, on the whole, quite plain and unremarkable. In fact, some might consider most of the beads, pendants and other personal objects to be rather crude. Notably absent from Lawson are examples of unique or exquisitely decorated objects that have been found on other roughly contemporaneous Iroquoian village sites, such as decorated bone beads, pendants and armbands from Middleport, prehistoric Neutral and historic Neutral sites in the Crawford Lake region (Finlayson 1998:1254, 1258, 1293, 1308). The exceptions at Lawson are confined to a few of the items noted herein, including an engraved bone or antler armlet, a couple of pendants which perhaps were purposefully decorated, and a couple of the gorgets which were perhaps purposefully decorated. In marked contrast to these items which were worn by the Lawson site inhabitants are the stylized depictions on the human effigy pipes, which represent a level of artistic sophistication and symbolism not portrayed on the worn objects. This strongly suggests that the human effigy pipes had much more ritualistic and symbolic significance than the adornment objects worn everyday.

The assemblage of items of personal adornment incorporates certain materials which do not naturally occur in the immediate vicinity of the Lawson site, and therefore must have been obtained through excursions outside of the region or through trade or capture. These materials include native copper, which most researchers agree was derived from natural outcrops along the northwest shore of Lake Superior, and pieces of marine shell which include species normally found either along the Atlantic seaboard from Chesapeake Bay south to Florida or in the Gulf of Mexico. In regard to shell beads (and pendants), it is significant to note that for the seventeenth century historic Neutral the Jesuits recorded that:

> Some old men related to our Fathers that they (the Neutral) had acquaintance with a certain Western Nation, against which they were going to make war, and which was not far removed from the sea; that the inhabitants of the place fished for *Vignots*, that are a kind of oyster, the shell of which serves to make porcelain beads, which are the pearls of the country... (Jesuit Relations XXI:201).

The evidence from the Lawson site would suggest that materials for such "pearls" were being obtained at least one hundred and fifty years prior to the time to which the above quote refers.

There is the possibility that some objects found at the Lawson site, including the slate gorgets, do not relate at all to the fifteenth century occupation of the village by the Neutral Iroquoians, but rather relate to an earlier occupation of the same property in the Archaic to Initial Woodland periods. Aside from the slate gorgets discussed above, other items reliably reported as coming from the Lawson site include a few objects in the Museum's Cameron Wilson Collection, such as three bannerstones, a stone tube and a native copper celt, which may relate to much earlier time periods. A few diagnostic projectile points and bifaces which are clearly non-Iroquoian have been recovered on the site (Pearce 1980) and immediately adjacent to the village (i.e. Spook Hollow site AgHh-5 - see Finlayson et al 1981), creating further support for the possible presence of much earlier components. An Early Archaic period 'bifurcate base' projectile point was said to have been found "near" the site (Boyle 1906:12), and a unique stone gorget which David Boyle had illustrated (1896b:63) was inferred by Wintemberg (1939:36) to have been "probably left by earlier Woodland inhabitants".

However, there is also the equally plausible explanation that some of these "earlier" objects had been collected from other locations by the Neutral inhabitants of the Lawson site as "curios" and that these objects found their way into the every day refuse deposited on the site by the Neutral. Additional support for the latter argument comes from the relatively large numbers of fossils which have been found at the Lawson site. Although some of the fossils that have been found do occur naturally in the glacial till on and directly beside the Lawson site, there are a significant number of other fossils excavated from the site that do not occur naturally in the area. These therefore must have be picked up and carried to the site by human agency. These fossils include, for example, the trilobite pendant and the human effigy pendant, as well as some un-modified fossils (especially certain brachiopods) which can only be found today in the Arkona area, Lambton County. Since it can be positively demonstrated that the Lawson site inhabitants were travelling to the shores of Lake Huron to obtain large quantities of Kettle Point chert, and to fish for lake species such as whitefish, there is reason to believe that they could easily have passed through the area of present-day Arkona and picked up a few interesting fossils. If such fossils were being collected as curios, is it not reasonable to suspect that the Neutral Iroquoians could also have collected other objects including a few slate gorgets, bannerstones and spearheads that had been made centuries earlier. The possibility that Native peoples were collectors of 'strange' objects was raised over one hundred years ago when William J. Wintemberg (1900:89) noted the recovery from an Iroquoian site in North Dumfries Township of a meteorite "which evidently had been found and carried there by the aborigines" (also see Annual Archaeological Report, Ontario, 1905:8, Cat. #27,068).

To the author, it is quite amazing that so many objects which appear to be pristine and perfectly usable were disposed of in midden deposits. The supreme example of this disposal pattern is a unique human effigy pipe from Lawson - one depicting a complete, crouching human figure with arms, fingers, legs, toes and pierced ears. It was discovered during Wintemberg's 1921-1923 excavation, in a midden deposit which he mapped and labelled as "Refuse Deposit 23" (Wintemberg 1939:94). There are numerous examples of other complete items, including many of the items of personal adornment discussed herein, that were found in midden deposits or refuse-filled pits. The Lawson site has also yielded hundreds of projectile points, and a great many complete points have been found in middens and refuse-filled pits. Could it be that so many of these items were being produced that disposing of some of them into middens was of little consequence to the site inhabitants?

Generally speaking, the Lawson site has yielded only one or a few of each of the individual types of personal adornment objects, such as one tubular stone bead or six perforated fish vertebrae beads (see Table 1). There are only three significant deviations from this norm. The first relates to tubular bone beads, which are ubiquitous on most Iroquoian sites and of which at least 79 have been found at Lawson. The second concerns modified mammalian phalanges interpreted herein as bangles, of which at least 79 have been found at Lawson. The third concerns the mammalian phalange distal end beads, of which over 170 have been found at Lawson.

In terms of overall numbers, far more items of personal adornment were made from mammalian phalanges (especially deer) than any other material. These objects include the bangles and distal end beads, but there were also four pendants that were made from mammalian phalanges. The Jesuits commented on the large numbers of deer in the Neutral territory (JR XXI:197) and faunal analyses

Table 1: Frequency of Items of Personal Adornment from the Lawson Site

CLASSIFICATION	Wintemberg 1939*	LMA 1976-2002**	TOTAL
A. BEADS			
tubular bone bead	55	24	79
perforated fish vertebrae bead	1	5	6
mammalian phalange distal end bead	39	133	172#
tubular marine shell bead	1	3	4
discoidal marine shell bead	1	1	2
discoidal stone (fossil) bead	0	2	2
tubular stone (fossil) bead	0	1	1
tubular stone bead	0	1	1
tubular stone bead blank	0	2	2
discoidal stone bead	0	5	5
tubular ceramic bead (recycled pipe stem fragment)	0	1	1
tubular native copper bead	0	1	1
bone bead wastage	Present	Present	
B. PENDANTS			
shale pebble	Present	8	>8
slate pebble	Present	0	
other pebble	Present	4	>4
freshwater clam	5	1	6
ocean/marine shell	2	2	4
deer femur ball joint	1	0	1
mammalian canine teeth	3	0	3
freshwater snail	4	0	4
distal deer phalange	0	1	1
mammalian medial phalange	0	2	2
mammalian phalange condyle	0	1	1
mammalian long bone splinter	0	2	2
trilobite fossil	0	1	1
fossiliferous limestone pebble	0	2	2
human effigy stone pendant	0	1	1
fish effigy stone pendant	0	1	1
C. GORGETS			
human skull	4	3	7
slate	2	6	8
freshwater clam gorget?	1	0	1
stone disk gorget?	0	6	6
D. OTHER			
antler comb	1	0	1
antler or bone armlet	1	0	1
bangles?	40	39	79
toggles?	?	5	5
tattooing needles?	0	4	4
red and yellow ochre nodules	Present	Present	

Notes: * items mentioned in Wintemberg's 1939 publication, including items he excavated plus items he observed in private collections (i.e. Sonley, Cary). ** LMA 1976-2002: items excavated by the London Museum of Archaeology since 1976. Present: precise number of specimens not specified. #: London Museum of Archaeology's excavations have recovered 132 deer and bear phalange distal end beads plus one made from an elk phalange.

completed on the Lawson assemblage clearly demonstrate that deer bones predominate (Wintemberg 1939:8), so obviously there were plenty of deer bones laying around from which to make artifacts. Yet, one cannot rule out the possibility that some of the deer bones including the phalanges were deliberately selected by the site inhabitants for symbolic motives since the Jesuits observed that the Native peoples did not throw deer bones to the dogs as it was thought the deer were "possessed of reason" (JR X:167), and that deer (as well as some other animals) had "immortal and reasonable souls" (JR VIII:121). The Jesuits wrote that "nearly all the Savages have charms, to which they speak and make feasts, in order to obtain from them what they desire" (JR XV:181), and this logically could have included objects made from deer bones to will success in hunting deer.

Since the mammalian phalange distal end beads are quite rare on other Iroquoian sites (see Wright 1966:87), one must ask, why were they so common at Lawson?

One possible explanation is that such beads were considered by the Lawson site inhabitants (at least those who wore such beads) to be a clear marker of their own identity - a symbol to classify who they were and to distinguish them from others. At the global level and throughout various time periods, there are numerous examples of people manifesting their own identity, or their membership within a specific group, through the use of such mechanisms as material objects, mode of dress, hair styles or personal adornment (including tattooing and body painting) to distinguish themselves from others (see, for example, Hodder 1982:79, 96, 101). Even the word *Huron* has sometimes been interpreted as being derived from the French word *hure* meaning 'bristly head' in reference to the particular manner in which some Huron wore or cut their hair (Heidenreich 1978:387), which presumably distinguished them from other Native groups encountered by the French.

In this regard, it is significant to here mention the historical documentation that exists (albeit extremely brief) about the 'Honniasonontkeronon', a seventeenth century group of Iroquoian-speaking peoples who lived in the Ohio area, whom some attribute to the Erie (White 1978:412; Hunter 1978:588). One translation of the meaning of their name is "people of the place where they wear crosses" (Hewitt 1907:559), and William Fenton (1940:195-196) interpreted the 'crosses' to be 'gorgets'. Fenton (ibid.:196) cited an 1841 publication by Adriaen Van der Donck which claimed that one group of these Erie, known as the Black Minquas, were so named because "they wear a black badge on their breast" (also see Fox 2002:327-358). These 'black badges' or gorgets (pendants?) may have been so unique as to permit the Black Minquas to readily identify themselves as members of that group, and/or to permit others to identify them as the Black Minquas.

There are many other references to specific uses of items of personal adornment as identity-markers. Alice Fletcher, for example, in a general description of the North American Indians, stated that "the motive of personal adornment, aside from the desire to appear attractive, seems to have been to mark individual, *tribal*, or ceremonial distinction" (1907:16, emphasis added). She also mentioned that various types of personal adornment were often "symbolic" of "totems", and she specifically stated that "it was common for a tribe to have its peculiar cut and decoration of the moccasin, so that a man's tribe was proclaimed by his foot gear" (ibid.:18-19). Harold Driver (1968:142, 154) recorded that in some Native American societies, embellishments such as beads and quillwork "exhibited a particular tribal style".

By the seventeenth century the historic Iroquoians of Ontario and Iroquois of New York State had an elaborate socio-cultural system involving moieties and clans. The Seneca, for example, had two moieties with nine clans, and each clan had its own unique 'totem' usually represented by a symbolic animal such as Turtle, Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Deer, Snipe or Hawk (Fenton 1978:299). There are references to the fact that Mohawk men sometimes had their "clan crest" engraved as a tattoo on their chest, shoulder or face (ibid.:303). The totems or "clan crests" had deep symbolic meaning and connotations, especially in regard to the complex systems and rules governing Iroquoian social organization, kinship, marriage, descent and residence (ibid.:310-313), even to the extent that the seventeenth century Mohawk painted animal symbols representative of their clan affiliation on the exterior of their longhouses (see Engelbrecht 2003:76, 140). Obviously it was important for someone to know, and perhaps to openly display, which group he or she belonged to. For the Ontario Iroquoians, there has been speculation that specific human, animal and bird effigy pipes are directly related to specific "totemic lineage eponyms" (Noble 1979:83). This belief is in keeping with an important phrase from the Jesuit Relations, where it was written that each (Huron) family "has its distinct armorial bearing, one having a deer, another a serpent, another a crow..." (JR XV:181).

A 1669 map of southern Ontario drawn by Galinée and his party has the name "Otinawatawa" beside the Grand River. This name, or variants of it, were interpreted by J. N. B. Hewitt (in a footnote in Wintemberg 1929:125) as an Iroquois word signifying "they are of the Large Pipe people". One of the Council names for the historic Cayuga Iroquois of New York Sate was interpreted as meaning "those of the great pipe" (White et al 1978:503). Could it be that these references imply that specific groups of people were recognized by a distinctive material culture symbol? In this regard, it can be noted that David Smith (1997) identified two distinctive groups of Middle to Late Ontario Iroquoians living in the Milton area on the basis of their unique pipe and ceramic styles. Was this merely a coincidence, or do the differences signal a fundamental way in which two groups distinguished themselves from each other? Smith hypothesized that: "(1) the two styles represent two distinct communities; (2) these communities competed with each other for limited resources; and (3) they symbolized this competition through differences in pipe styles" (ibid.:i).

It does not therefore seem to radical to suggest that the Lawson site Neutrals, or a subset of individuals within their society, may have identified themselves by very distinctive objects - tiny beads made from the distal ends of mammalian phalanges.

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JR= Jesuit Relations (see Thwaites 1896-1901).

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